5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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include gifts to persons of the same household? It would have been easy enough to lay down a rule that this kind of gift should be excluded from the survey and nor mentioned by informants, but I decided that it was not for me to start defining to the Orokaiva what was meant by a phrase like *ba ikari* 'to give taro'. Evidently food given to household members was, in certain circumstances, regarded as a gift. I recorded a total of 265 such 'transactions' from fourteen households during the survey period. Among those who mentioned such 'transactions' were some of my most helpful informants. At the beginning of the survey, household members were only sporadically mentioned but the number of mentions increased as the survey proceeded, until a pattern emerged.[2] A gift of food from wife to husband was never mentioned. A gift to a household member other than a natural or adopted child of one or both of the marriage partners was always included. Married daughters and sons old enough to live in a bachelor's house were always included. What confused informants most was how to regard gifts to younger sons and daughters.

Some parents included their children if they were old enough to be of school age. Others included the boys if they had gone through the 'birthday' ceremony which nowadays takes the place of initiation and included the boys if they had been through puberty seclusion. Others again did not include their dependent children at all. There was no uniform pattern. I ascribe the confusion to two factors: first, it used to be customary for children to start working in the garden at a very early age, doing whatever was within their capacity and making some contribution to the household economy. Boys would be given their own small garden plots at an early age and their sisters would fulfil some feminine tasks (planting, harvesting) in these plots. When schooling became general in the district, the children ceased making that kind of contribution. Secondly, school 'lunches' were mostly taken by the children every morning and eaten on the school grounds. These lunches were identical in form to the intra-village taro gifts: they were a meal of cooked taro cooked by the mother and taken out of the home.

Intra-household taro gifts were reported to me in too inconsistent a fashion to permit statistical analysis, but they were interesting as they revealed the household to be, in itself, a minuscule exchange system. This system was intact to a greater extent in Hohorita, where schooling ends at grade 3, than in Sivepe where adolescents are mostly at school rather than in the garden. At Hohorita adolescents grew and (if they were females) harvested vegetable food, gave this to their mothers, and their mothers fed and looked after them. The same principle applied in Sivepe to adults living with their adult and married children, brothers or sisters. Even very old men and women do what gardening they can to make a contribution. The record shows, in the case of some of these old people, that they made hardly any contribution at all during the survey period. As this was a period when taro was becoming scarce, their small gardens were exhausted, but a few months later some of them would again have crops of their own.

Most of the older people who thus depended on gifts for their sustenance were not fed by one household only, though usually one household bore most of the burden. However, wherever there was a helpless old person, there were always at least two regularly contributing households in addition to the one to which that person was attached. We must distinguish, among the Orokaiva,

and two walked over the Owen Staaleys to Port Moresby in search of work. Two of the remaining three are still at school at Sasembata, leaving only Rodney Gill at home. The fact that he has not already left probably reflects some latent sense of obligation towards his parents.

After completing standard 4 at Sasembata, Rodney Gill went to stay with his married sister near Port Moresby for several months but he has never been employed outside the village. Nevertheless, he is frequently away for several weeks at a time, particularly at Sangara. Even during the survey period he was absent on 17.9 per cent of potential survey days, or 34 days in all. During 32 of these he was on an unbroken visit to Sangara assisting a settler construct a house, for which he received $8 and his keep.

Two months after returning to Sivepe he obtained work at Sasembata mission station, helping to erect new class-rooms for a salary of 80c per month. Disillusioned by the small wage he left after three months; nevertheless this work was the most important category in his total activity pattern. Since his parents have no cash crops and Rodney Gill has made no attempt to establish his own, the little cash cropping he does, 0.4 hours per week, is confined to assisting his brother Cecil King with his coffee.

Rodney Gill spends only 32 per cent of his time on productive subsistence tasks, compared with the sample mean of 65 per cent, and his contribution to subsistence gardening is particularly slight. Like other youths, he prefers to spend his time hunting and fishing, and for him other subsistence food production is the main subsistence activity. During the survey Rodney Gill rebuilt, almost single-handed, the single men's house in which he sleeps and also gave Cecil considerable assistance in rebuilding his house.

In general the productive tasks available in the village which appeal most to young men are those which occur irregularly or which can be done on impulse, have an important recreational aspect and have associated with them obvious shows of skill or strength. Their most popular leisure pursuits are parties and dancing to guitars. Rodney Gill spends more time fulfilling social obligations than any of the other individuals considered - 6.9 hours a week - yet 75 per cent of this was attending parties. Although most youths seldom have much money to spend on food and alcohol at these gatherings, the guitar music, singing and dancing pursued unrelentingly through the night appeal to them. Modelled as they are on expatriate festivities, and given an element of inter-village rivalry with

166 464 461 he expresses at present a preference for paid work and spent over 27 hours, in addition to one full day, seeking employment. However, the only paid work he obtained was on the entrepreneur's construction contract at the airstrip. Since the completion of road construction in the area, paid work other than labouring for settlers has been difficult to obtain. Isemba has sought work requiring responsibility, for instance, as a storeman, rather than casual labouring, but even in Popondetta responsible work is rarely available and there are many other men of similar age and with similar or better educational qualifications competing for the same few vacancies.

512 461 [226] Isemba is active for an average of 49.5 hours per week. His most time-consuming task is fishing, usually with friends of the same age, and this is probably regarded as recreation as much as productive work. It accounts for 20 per cent of the week's activities. Sago-making is also important in the dry season. In the category of other food-producing activities over one-third of the time spent in subsistence gardening is in planting taro, sweet potato and minor crops and one-half in clearing and harvesting. During period III, he made a garden independently of his brother for the first time. This was intended for his brother's wife's use and served as a return for the food he received as a member of the household. Productive subsistence activities account for 21.4 hours a week.

[434] Isemba's main cash-producing activity is paid employment. He also assists his brother and others in their coffee gardens and spends some time in marketing. In fact, he never acquired any cash in the Popondetta market: he threw away unsold siporo (limes) and gave unsold bush-turkey eggs to a friend. However, in November, he caught a 4 ft long crocodile in the Girua River and sold it to a Chinese merchant in Popondetta for $4.50. The 2.1 hours spent on purchasing are partly on his own account and partly as a service to others, since purchasing provides a reason for travelling and meeting friends.

[883] Apart from the category of other food-producing activities, social activities consume most time during the week, with a slightly higher proportion spent on visits than on organised feasts and parties. These visits are brief and distinct from those considered in discussing absences and are one of the most typical aspects of the behaviour patterns of young men. A closely related activity is church attendance, which occupies over an hour a week because Isemba often walks to services at Ijika, again in order to meet his friends. His visits to the aid post take up more time than the average spent even by women with

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